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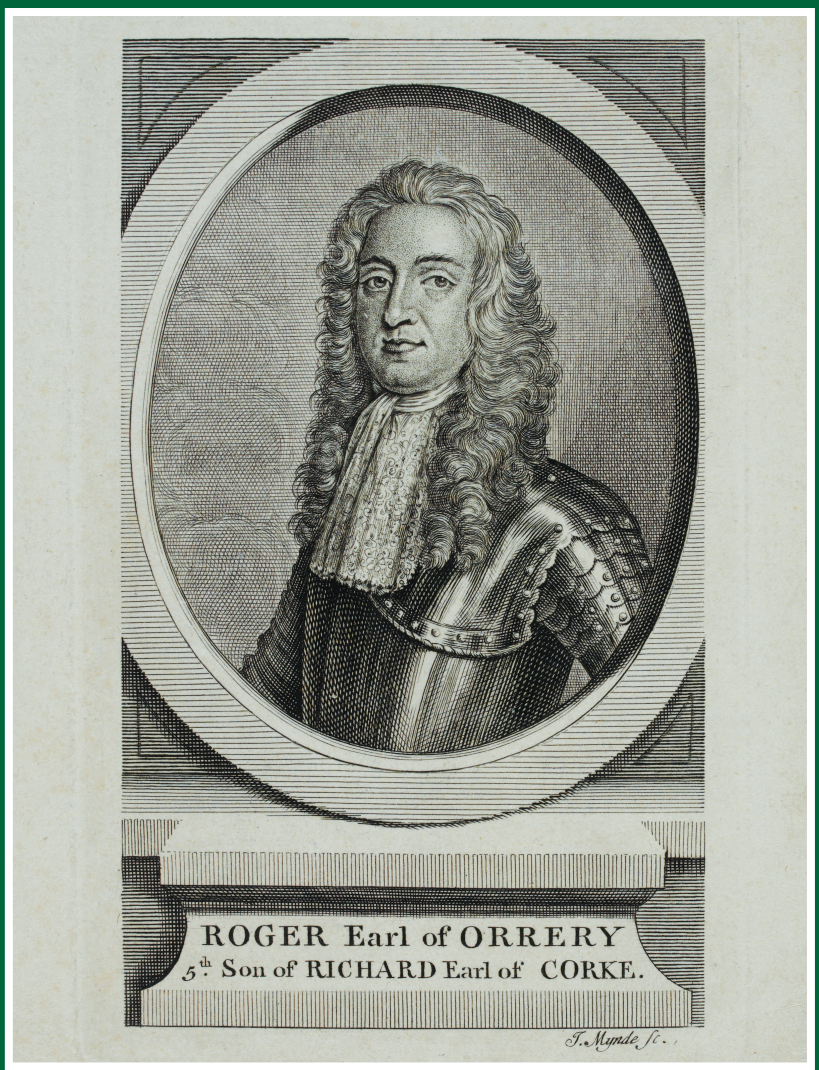

DANIELLE McCORMACK

THE STUART RESTORATION AND THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND

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Danielle McCormack

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Abbreviations and conventions

Abbreviations

Add. MS: Additional Manuscripts (British Library)
An answer: Orrery, Roger Boyle, earl of. *An answer to a scandalous letter lately printed and subscribed by Peter Welsh: procurator for the Sec. and Reg. popish priests of Ireland. Intituled A letter desiring a just and merciful regard of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, given about the end of Octob. 1660. to the then Marquess, now Duke of Ormond, and the second time Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. By the right honourable the Earl of Orrery, one of the Lords Justices of the Kingdom of Ireland, and L. President of the Province of Munster, &c.* (Dublin and London, 1662).
BL: British Library
Bodl.: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
CJI: The journals of the House of Commons of the kingdom of Ireland
Clarendon SP: Clarendon State Papers
CM: Cork Manuscripts
CSPD: *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*
CSPI: *Calendar of State Papers Ireland*
CSPV: *Calendar of State Papers Venetian*
DCL: Dublin City Libraries
Eg.: Egerton
EHR: *English Historical Review*
HJ: *The Historical Journal*
HMC: Historic Manuscripts Commission
IMC: Irish Manuscripts Commission
IHS: *Irish Historical Studies*
LJI: The journals of the House of Lords of the kingdom of Ireland
NHI: *A new history of Ireland*, iii. *Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*
NLI: National Library of Ireland
Oxford DNB: Matthew, H. C. G. and Harrison, Brian, eds. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), Online edition.
SP: State Papers
TCD: Trinity College Dublin
TNA: The National Archives

Conventions

Dates are in Old Style, but the New Year is taken as 1 January. The Articles of Peace were signed between the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny and James Butler, duke of Ormond in January 1649, but are referred to as the 1648 Articles or 1648 Peace, to reflect contemporary usage. Abbreviations as they appear in primary sources have been silently expanded.

Introduction

In May 1660, the exiled King Charles II was restored to his Irish, English and Scottish kingdoms. His restoration ushered in a period in which competing interests jostled for reward and sought vengeance for perceived wrongs suffered during the wars that had engulfed Britain and Ireland since 1638. Ireland was the site of particular bitterness. Its landscape was ravaged by warfare while its inhabitants were preoccupied with memories of the bloodshed and suffering of the previous two decades. Oliver Cromwell's conquest of the kingdom by 1652 had led to a massive transfer of land and power from Catholics to Protestants. The most recent analysis of the mid-seventeenth-century land transfer asserts that in 1641, 1,756 Catholics possessed 66% of all land. By c.1675, 1,353 Catholics held only 29%.[1] In 1660, the latter, from a position of power, sought to maintain the great gains that they had made. Meanwhile, Catholics attempted to compel the king to honour commitments made to them by his lord deputy, James Butler, marquess of Ormond, in the 1640s, particularly those contained in the 1649 Articles of Peace, which he had concluded with the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny.

Politics in Ireland against the background of the Stuart restoration were conducted along an axis of Protestant versus Catholic, or English Protestant versus Irish Catholic. However, these confessional and national categories masked a variety of competing interests. The terms of debate were simplistic and simplifying, but they were accepted by political agents and served the purpose of unifying fragile alliances. In reality, the well-connected of both the Protestants and Catholics survived and thrived while the less fortunate of both denominations were victims of others' aggrandisement. The settlement of Ireland on an English Protestant or Irish Catholic interest was as much the story of the personal enrichment of cunning and powerful men as it was the story of the victory or vanquishment of one group or the other. Yet the rhetoric of maintenance of Protestantism in Ireland or of justice for Catholics provided the fuel of politics. It animated debate in both print and oral forms and shaped contemporary understandings of the outcome of the settlement.

Restoration Ireland was a period in which return of monarchy represented an opportunity to recast power in the kingdom. Capture of governance would be

[1] Kevin McKenny, 'The restoration land settlement in Ireland: a statistical interpretation', in Coleman Dennehy (ed.), *Restoration Ireland: always settling and never settled* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 40.

key to any attempt to reconfigure Irish politics and society. In this respect the Stuart restoration occurred on an assumption of conditionality, as both Catholic and Protestant assumed that the monarchy should represent their concerns and implement policies in their favour. King Charles II himself, meanwhile, with his advisors, considered that a distinct royal agenda could be pursued. The Stuart government's attempts to negotiate its positon among Catholics and Protestants in Ireland form an important aspect of Irish political processes in the period.

The polarisation of the Irish political nation into English Protestant and Irish Catholic was open to exploitation by Charles. The king could place himself at a distance from each of these groups in the administration of justice in the kingdom. The position of supreme magistrate enabled the king to remain aloof from dominance by either party. The challenge for the restoration monarchy was to exploit this situation in order to stabilise the regime and assert the distinctive character of Stuart kingship. The power of persuasion was put to great use by Protestant and Catholic spokesmen as they sought to bring the king definitively over to their side. The diffusion of incompatible versions of recent history and competing visions for the role of Protestant and Catholic in society among the wider public by means of pamphlet literature and word of mouth could also galvanise physical force. In 1660s Ireland it was the Protestants who demonstrated their readiness to act on inflammatory rhetoric. This was to the detriment of Catholics but also caused the monarchy to tread with greater caution as it altered the Cromwellian settlement. The interaction between public discourse and violence or threats of violence was key to the government's decision to dissolve the court of claims in 1663, which had been established to adjudicate on whether or not individual Catholics were restorable to property.

That Protestants in Ireland – who were numerically inferior to Catholics – proved most volatile was a result of the relationship between the politics of the Protestant interest in Ireland and wider 'anti-popish' politics. The cause of Protestantism in Ireland was a matter of political status and possession of property. These crucial factors were regarded as essential in stemming the tide of popery in Britain and Ireland, as a collective unit, in the minds of many Protestants. This dynamic in turn related to the matter of international popery and a growing concern in Britain with arbitrary government and the rise of France. These concerns manifested themselves as a politics of opposition as the reign of Charles II progressed. Ireland was an early battleground against the Stuarts in their perceived promotion of Catholics and Catholicism. Dissidents in Ireland could be members of a wider network of English opposition to Stuart monarchy. Irish concerns, rooted in understandings of the past, had wider geopolitical and imperial import and formed part of the politics of shifting patterns of influence in Europe between Protestant and Catholic in the seventeenth century.

This book presents a history of the Stuart restoration in Ireland in the period between 1660 and 1667. It was in this period that the monarchy established itself and the basis was laid for future acrimony concerning the 'popery' of the Stuarts. In 1662, the Act for the Settlement of Ireland was passed and in 1665, the Act of Explanation, which modified the basis of the settlement, was also carried through the Irish parliament. Between 1660 and 1667 Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon dominated political affairs in his position as lord chancellor of England. Clarendon's insistence upon the use of due legal process had a distinct influence on politics in Ireland. In Ireland, political leadership was characterised by tensions between the lord deputy, James Butler, duke of Ormond, and Roger Boyle, earl of Orrery, who dragged each other down and tarnished one another's reputations between 1667 and 1669.

This book examines the ideas and debates that shaped the politics of the land and political settlement. With a focus on the politics of the 'English in Ireland', it highlights the common themes and preoccupations with religion, land and power that shaped both high and low politics. Attention has been given to sources that record the debates conducted before the king at Whitehall, those held in the Irish parliament, but also encounters between rival Catholics and Protestants throughout the kingdom. The book illuminates the synergies that existed between high and low politics, and also demonstrates the overt and tacit relationship between the discourse of politicians and the actions of persons far removed from the centres of power.

This study has made extensive use of a wide variety of manuscript and printed materials in order to capture the essence of political debate and discourse in the 1660s. Pamphlets provide an obvious source of attempts to construct political discourse and reality, and a wide range have been used. Petitions and addresses were another important written source, as they were 'used both to construct and question authority, and implicitly claimed a liberty to do so'.[2] Also of relevance were speeches and sermons. Private letters were not always mere attempts to inform correspondents of affairs. Rather, they conveyed selective information and shaped the recipient's view of events and of the writer. More immediately, utterances of a political nature were taken seriously, eventually becoming part of the 'public transcript'.[3] Actions, particularly those of a violent nature, had an immediate impact on those involved. However, as interpolations into a political process, their effect was felt as a consequence of the manner in which they were

[2] Mark Knights, 'Roger L'Estrange, printed petitions and the problem of intentionality', in John Morrow and Jonathan Scott (eds), *Liberty, authority, formality: political ideas and culture, 1600–1900: essays in honour of Colin Davis* (Exeter, 2008), p. 113.

[3] David Cressy, *Dangerous talk: scandalous, seditious and treasonable speech in pre-modern England* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 17.

represented and described by partial observers. Study of actions is valuable both because they expressed certain outlooks and were interpreted in certain ways.

Archival material has provided a source of petitions that were presented either directly to the king or to the lord lieutenant. The private and public correspondence of the secretaries of state, the lord lieutenant, the king, the earl of Orrery and of his brother Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, have also been explored. Another important source has been the council debates between Protestant and Catholic commissioners, held at Whitehall between 1660 and 1662. The most important manuscript collections for the period are the Carte Papers and the State Papers, housed at Oxford and Kew respectively. Other, smaller, collections also provide significant materials for the study of the history of the 1660s. These include the collections of the British Library, the National Library of Ireland, Trinity College Dublin, Dublin City Library, Marsh's Library, and Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.

A key argument of this book is that political power was determined as much by ownership of the historical record and an ability to justify the actions of one's political grouping as by ownership of land.[4] It shifts focus away from the mechanisms of the land settlement on to the manner in which both Protestants and Catholics justified their respective positions in the kingdom and claims for royal favour. The issue of political identity is highly important, as key agents of each grouping presented themselves in the roles of spokesmen for defined 'interests' in Irish society. This book contributes to understanding of the evolution of both English Protestant and Irish Catholic identity in the restoration period, with particular attention paid to the former and to the role of Orrery in directing and shaping the 'English in Ireland'.

The Stuart restoration was a crucial moment in the development of English Protestant identity in Ireland as it shattered any complacency about the justifiability of their position that had been cultivated during the Interregnum. This was due to the king's neglect to automatically consolidate the Cromwellian settlement. Coupled with the good use to which Catholics put this opportunity to make their case, Protestants were forced to react to the moral and legal challenge to their position. In the same way that an inability to convince of the justness of the Protestant position could lead to loss of land, loss of land could lead to a negation of understandings of Protestant suffering in the 1640s.

[4] The Down Survey and Books of Survey and Distribution provide a readily accessible source to understand the major changes in landholding patterns that occurred during the seventeenth century and are of great use to those interested in the mechanisms of the land settlement and the identities of the winners and losers in the process. See: http://downsurvey.tcd.ie/.

1

The political and mental map of 1660s Ireland

By 1659, Ireland was in a relatively stable political and economic situation, following the turmoil that had engulfed it between 1641 and 1652. The rebellion of Gaelic landlords in Ulster in 1641 had unleashed popular resentment against the policies of plantation in Ireland. Throughout the 1640s, the king, represented by his lord deputy, James Butler, marquess of Ormond, struggled to assert his authority there. His position was challenged by the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny, established for the restoration of social order and to improve the position of Catholics in the kingdom. Monarchy was further challenged in Ireland by the presence in Ulster of a Scottish Covenanting army and by the vacillation of Protestants of English origin, who looked to the English parliament to quell the Catholic threat to their position. The matter of suppression of the Irish Catholic rebellion came to be of importance in domestic English politics. Ireland became a site of contention between king and parliament as each struggled to assert control over the waging of war against Irish rebels there.[5] With the king absent in Scotland, management of the suppression of the Irish rebellion helped to consolidate parliament's role as an effective government.[6] The conquest of Ireland initiated by Oliver Cromwell in 1649 and accomplished by 1652 marked the vanquishing of the Catholic stake in Ireland while ushering in a period of fusion between the agendas of Ireland's Protestants and the latest English programme for the country, a programme that was in fact the culmination of many earlier, frustrated plans to anglicise Ireland.[7]

The administrative basis for the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland was laid by the 1642 Adventurers Act, which encouraged investors to subscribe money to a planned conquest of Ireland. Land would be granted to investors in return for this subscription. Adventurers were to expect a return of one acre of land in Ulster for each shilling invested. Six shillings was the price of an acre of land in Connacht, while ten shillings and twelve shillings were the respective values of an acre of land in Munster and Leinster.[8] The Doubling Ordinance

5 J. R. MacCormack, 'Irish adventurers and the English civil war', *IHS*, x (1956), pp 24–5.

6 Robert Armstrong, *Protestant war: the 'British' of Ireland and the wars of the three kingdoms* (Manchester, 2005), pp 45–6.

7 N. P. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford and New York, 2001), p. 558.

8 K. S. Bottigheimer, *English money and Irish land: the 'adventurers' in the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971), pp 41–2.

of 1643 enabled adventurers to double their expected return by subscribing an additional quarter of the sum originally laid out.[9] However, adventurers did not invest in land in a particular province, and they had no control over the region in which their lot might fall.[10] In 1652, the adventurers claimed that they contributed £306,718 to the war in Ireland, but the cost of the conquest had come to about £3,500,000.[11]

It was the 'rump' English parliament which enacted that soldiers should also be compensated for their arrears in Irish land. This was to be granted on the same terms as for adventurers in order to compensate for the fact that payment was not being made in money.[12] The 1652 Act for the Settlement of Ireland exempted all those Catholics involved in the initial stages of the 1641 rebellion from pardon in respect of life and estate. Also exempted from pardon were any Roman Catholic priests who had been involved with the rebellion in any way, certain named noblemen, anyone who had killed a civilian, and any who did not give up their arms within twenty-eight days of publication of the act.[13]

The impetus for the Cromwellian agenda in Ireland had been nurtured throughout the 1640s, when the Catholics of Ireland were regarded as the personification of the 'popish' threat against England. However, the confiscation and plantation scheme that followed the conquest was ultimately derived from plantation policies that had been formulated since the time of the Tudors, who had attempted to bring Ireland more firmly under English control.[14] Ultimately, the 1652 Act of Settlement was informed both by a conviction that Irish Catholics merited punishment for rebelling in 1641, and by an economic imperative to confiscate land.[15]

The universalising nature of the 1652 Act for the Settlement of Ireland and the difficulties of demonstrating 'constant good affection' to parliament on the part of Catholics led to a major confiscation of property and the transplantation of Catholics deemed 'deserving', to smaller settlements in the western province of Connacht and the county of Clare. The resettlement west of the River Shannon was not carried out according to the letter of the 1652 act, though, with Catholics who had been exempted from pardon sometimes receiving grants of new land, while others who met the conditions of the act were unable to gain any property. Still more never departed from their patrimonies,

9 Ibid., p. 117.
10 Ibid., p. 45.
11 Ibid., pp 54–5.
12 Ibid., p. 131.
13 Patrick Corish, 'The Cromwellian regime, 1650–1660', *NHI*, iii, p. 361.
14 Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 558.
15 Bottigheimer, *English money and Irish land*, p. 129. Toby Barnard has emphasised the specifically ideological basis of the settlement (Toby Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English government and reform in Ireland, 1649–1660* (Oxford, 1975), pp 10–11).

either remaining as vagrants dependent upon their former subordinates, or as tenants.[16] The former were a particularly obnoxious group from the perspective of the new government, as they could easily become involved with tories.[17] Such 'vagrants' were liable to the proclamations for transportation overseas, along with defeated soldiers. The transportation to the West Indies of Catholic soldiers who had surrendered was part of a general practice on the part of Oliver Cromwell when dealing with defeated enemies. However, this practice evolved into a considered strategy between 1652 and 1655 in order to rid the country of those who presented a threat to Cromwellian rule and of those considered 'vagrant'.[18] Still more soldiers departed in order to join the service of King Charles II or to serve the kings of France and Spain. The former came to be known as 'ensign-men', and were accorded special favour by Charles upon his return to the throne.

The envisioned Protestant plantation of Ireland failed in that few soldiers and adventurers ever settled in Ireland, overawed by the difficulties of settling in an unfamiliar country ravaged by thirteen years of warfare. Of an envisioned plantation involving 35,000 families, only 7,500 ever settled. The real beneficiaries of the Cromwellian land transfer were the New English who had been settled in Ireland prior to the 1641 rebellion and who now came to be known as 'Old Protestants'. These Protestants were in a position to buy up allocated property at low rates, thus extending their holdings. New Protestants were regarded as 'upstart rogues' and were viewed with derision by more established settlers.[19] They produced few success stories, although Sir William Petty, the political economist and author of the Down Survey, was a notable exception. Although Ireland had unquestionably been won for Protestantism, it was a Protestantism that contained within it deep inequalities and which would continue insecure owing to their great numerical inferiority.

Nonetheless, the impact on Ireland of the New Protestants was far from negligible. The first Independents – who rejected the validity of national churches – went to Ireland as part of the 1647 expeditionary force under Viscount Lisle, who was appointed lord lieutenant by the Long Parliament.[20] Ireland offered a tempting prospect to ministers of religion in England who were ejected for their uncertain political principles. Thus, Ireland in the early 1650s was poised to accommodate a wide range of religious radical convictions, such as those of

16 The most recent comprehensive study of the transplantation is: John Cunningham, *Conquest and land in Ireland: the transplantation to Connacht, 1649–1680* (Woodbridge, 2011).

17 Corish, 'The Cromwellian regime, 1650–1660', p. 368.

18 Ibid., p. 363.

19 Toby Barnard, 'Last stages of plantation', in James Lyttleton and Colin Rynne (eds), *Plantation Ireland: settlement and material culture, c.1550–c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), pp 265–6.

20 Armstrong, *Protestant war*, p. 163.

the 'Ranters', the antinomian sect that developed in the late 1640s.[21] By 1651, two Independent congregations were present in Dublin. Baptists, a sect that had grown during the civil wars and which rejected infant baptism, also arrived with the English army and came to be associated with military rule. The lord deputy, Charles Fleetwood, failed to check the power of leading Baptists, who often professed radical political principles not in keeping with the tenor of rule in one person, as established by Cromwell.[22] The Society of Friends, commonly known as Quakers, was established in Ireland by William Edmundson and Anthony Sharp.[23] They held their first meeting in 1654 at Lurgan, Co. Armagh, and spread to Dublin, Cork and Limerick.[24] They had great successes in winning over the soldiers of the garrisons in Munster, leading to an initial outburst of persecution on the part of the government, which quickly rescinded as they ceased to be viewed as a political threat.[25]

The political danger which Baptism presented led to Cromwell's decision to appoint his son, Henry Cromwell, as major-general of the army in Ireland and as a member of the Irish council.[26] Fleetwood returned to England some months after the arrival of his brother-in-law but Henry did not officially replace him as lord deputy until 17 November 1657.[27] The loss of Fleetwood as lord deputy was a blow to the Baptists, who maintained their campaign for his return to Ireland until the end of 1656.[28] Henry Cromwell's deputyship marked the marginalisation of the army as a power in government and the attempt to establish the Cromwellian regime with the Old Protestants as its main base of support. In this he was facilitated by the end of warfare in Ireland. Both circumstances and policy meant that Henry Cromwell's rule was in marked contrast to that of Fleetwood.[29]

The war and plantation that led to these changes was motivated by the ideas that gripped seventeenth-century Ireland and which served to shape political identities there. In the seventeenth century, Ireland was subject to stark confessionalisation. The influence of the Catholic reformation in Ireland extended during the early part of that century. It had much success in shaping the character of the Irish Catholic church, despite the difficulties

21 Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, p. 99.
22 Ibid., pp 100–1.
23 Richard Greaves, *God's other children: Protestant nonconformists and the emergence of denominational churches in Ireland, 1660–1700* (Stanford, 1997), p. 6.
24 Thomas Wright, *A history of the rise and progress of the people called Quakers*, 4th ed. (London, 1811), pp 81–4.
25 Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, pp 109–12.
26 Ibid., pp 105–6.
27 Corish, 'The Cromwellian regime, 1650–1660', p. 356.
28 Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*, p. 106.
29 Ibid., p. 303.

of operating within an officially Protestant state.[30] The Irish Catholic clergy navigated these difficulties and succeeded in reforming the parish system and inculcating a basic knowledge of the Roman Catholic faith among a broad spectrum of the population. The clergy also served as an instrument to confessionalise the people, and this was accompanied by the dissemination of Catholic histories of Ireland from the Irish colleges based on the European continent.

Meanwhile, Irish Protestantism developed as a 'low church' Calvinist movement. The articles adopted by the Church of Ireland convocation in 1615 clearly demonstrated this Calvinist character: it was the first European confession of faith to officially declare that the pope was antichrist.[31] The influence of religious developments on the outlook of Irish Protestants is the subject of work by Alan Ford, while Crawford Gribben has conducted a full-length study of Protestant theological controversies during the Interregnum. Ford has demonstrated that, in a development parallel to that which motivated Irish Catholics to compose histories of Ireland, Protestants were also at pains to utilise the methodologies of renaissance humanism to explore the history of their adopted country. Historical debates among Protestants in the seventeenth century centred on the pope as antichrist, on the nature of Celtic Christianity, and on the role of St Patrick and his relationship to scripture-based evangelism when converting the Irish.[32] Ford's demonstration that Ireland's Protestant denizens acquired a 'Patrician' heritage provides an insight into the complexity of a settler community coming to terms with the history of Ireland while also retaining a strong link to England, which was continuously reinvigorated by the arrival of new immigrants. This tension had parallels in the legal and constitutional sphere, in which Protestants were keen to defend Ireland's legislative independence, while nonetheless wishing to maintain the benefits of parliamentary acts passed in England that had increased their property holdings.

The history of Protestant politics has not been as well served as that of Irish Catholics, with the notable exception of work by Toby Barnard. Barnard's *Cromwellian Ireland* provides not only an analysis of government policy towards Ireland during the 1650s, but also charts the development and diversification

30 For a discussion of the achievements of the Irish Catholic Church in the early seventeenth century, see: Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland: the mission of Rinuccini, 1645–49* (Oxford, 2002), pp 39–68.

31 Crawford Gribben, *God's Irishmen: theological debates in Cromwellian Ireland* (New York, 2007), p. 6.

32 Alan Ford, 'The Irish historical renaissance and the shaping of Protestant history', in Alan Ford and John McCafferty (eds), *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 127–57.

of Irish Protestantism in tandem with the arrival in the kingdom of the army.[33] Barnard has also produced work concerning the planter outlook in Ireland and the development of the material basis of the Anglo-Irish.[34]

The majority – though not all – of Ireland's Protestants were of British origin. They were English men and women who had settled in the kingdom in the context of Tudor conquest and plantation. The greatest influx arrived as settlers in the Plantation of Ulster, conceived of by the Scottish King James VI and I as a 'British' endeavour, with planters of both Scottish and English origin. This complicated the dynamic that existed between Irish and Scottish political and religious affairs.

In Ireland, religious identity developed and became entrenched in a language that was as much national as confessional. The development of Catholicism as a political identity rooted in understandings of Ireland's Christian past and nobility as an ancient European kingdom meant that the terms of reference were necessarily national. The denomination of Catholics as 'Irish' is problematic as such a category contained within it two ethnic and cultural groups. Though interrelated, the two nonetheless maintained distinct political identities into the seventeenth century. The first of these groups, the Gaelic Irish, were in the majority. The Gaelic polity as a competitor to that of the English crown had been vanquished by the end of the Nine Years' War in 1603 and Ulster, as the heartland of Gaelic power, had been altered irrevocably by its plantation as of 1609. Gaelic history and literature formed the basis of works that promoted the antiquity of the Irish kingdom and of its religion. Gaelic Ireland, as a political force, thus evolved as one inextricably associated with adherence to Catholicism.

The ambiguous identity of the Old English, who were descendants of the Norman conquerors of the twelfth century, has led to a considerable amount of debate as to their cultural and political identity and whether or not Old English and Gaelic Irish were on converging paths in the period. Aidan Clarke remains the most authoritative analyst of the political character of the Old English. He has demonstrated that 'Old English' emerged in the early seventeenth century as a term to describe the descendants of the Anglo-Norman colonists. Before, they had been called the 'Anglo-Irish'.[35] Clarke's thesis is that the Old English were a political grouping, which attempted to

[33] Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland*.

[34] Toby Barnard, 'Crises of identity among Irish Protestants, 1641–1685', *Past and Present*, cxxvii (1990), pp 39–83; Toby Barnard, '"Parlour entertainment in an evening"? Histories of the 1640s', in Micheál Ó Siochrú (ed.), *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s. Essays in honour of Dónal Cregan* (Dublin, 2001), pp 20–43.

[35] Aidan Clarke, 'Colonial identity in early seventeenth-century Ireland', in T. W. Moody (ed.), *Nationality and the pursuit of national independence* (Belfast, 1978), p. 58.